

XCIV.

M E M M O I R S

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L I T E R A T U R E.

MONDAY, December 31. 1711.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,
never before publish'd, of the Life and
Trial of MICHAEL SERVETUS. In several Letters to * * * *

* Letter III.

S I R,

THE Letter of *Servetus*, inserted in my last, was produced against him on the 17th of *August*, to prove that he had abused *Calvin*, and some other Divines of *Geneva*. I proceed to give you an Account of the most Remarkable Transactions of that Day.

La Fontaine and *Colladon* exhibited the Two Letters of *Oecolampadius*, which I have already mention'd, and Two Passages of *Melanchthon*, to prove the first Article, importing that *Servetus* had been condemn'd in Germany. Here follows the first Passage of *Melanchthon*. "Lusit * * homo fanaticus, *Servetus*, de vocabulo *Persona*, & disputat olim Latinis significasse *Habitum* aut *Officii* *Distinctionem*, ut dicimus *Roscium* alias *sustinere Personam* *Achillis*, alias *sustinere Personam* *Ulyssis*; seu alia est *Persona* *Consulis*, alia *Servi*, ut *Cicero* inquit, *Magnum est in Republica tueri Personam Principis*. Et hanc veterem significationem vocabuli *sycophanticè* detorquet ad Articulum de tribus *Personis* *Divinitatis*. In the Second Passage * * * *Melanchthon* calls *Servetus* *astutus* & *impius*. The Prisoner acknowledged that *Oecolampadius* and *Melanchthon* had writ against him; and added, that it was not a *Definitive Sentence*.

* The Ist and IId Letters may be seen in the LXXXVIIIth and XCth Sheets.

* * *Melanchth. Loci Theologici*, Page 321. of his *Corpus Doctrinæ Christianæ*, printed at *Leipsick* in 1560.

* * * *Ibid.* pag. 327.

Upon the Third Article the Two Accusers produced (a) again *Ptolemy's Geography*, and a Passage out of *Servetus's Preface*, wherein he says, that the Fruitfulness of *Judea* has been wrongly cried up, since those, who travelled in it, tell us that it is a barren and poor Country. *Calvin* * informs us, that when this Passage was objected against *Servetus*, he fell a Mumbling, and replied, that it had been written by another Hand. *Calvin* adds, that it was no difficult thing to convict him of the contrary: So that not knowing which way to turn, he said at last he had a good Reason to write that Passage. Afterwards *Servetus* being ask'd, (*Calvin* goes on,) who was that *vanus Præco Judææ*, mention'd by him? And whether it was not *Moses*? He answered, *As if none but Moses had spoke of Judea*. *Calvin* replied, that those who had given an Account of that Country, followed *Moses*, the most Ancient Writer that mentions it; from whence it might be infer'd, that he deceived those who followed him in that Particular. *Calvin* was extremely exasperated against *Servetus* upon this account. That impudent Dog (says he) having nothing to alledge in his Vindication, maintain'd that there was no Harm in what he had said. *Obscoenus canis tantum os perfricuit, & dixit uno verbo, nihil esse illi mali*.

Tho' I never saw that Edition of *Ptolemy's Geography*, to which *Servetus* added a Preface and some Notes, I dare say he did not reflect upon *Moses*. 'Tis not improbable that by the Words, *vanus Præco Judææ*, he meant some modern Traveller, who had publish'd an Account of the Holy Land, and represented it as a very fruitful Country. *Servetus* was neither an Atheist, nor a Deist: He was fully persuaded of the Truth of the Old Testament, as it appears from his Writings; and therefore I cannot believe that the Words just now mentioned concern *Moses*.

Palestine is not now, properly speaking, a more barren Country than it was in former Times: Were it improved and cultivated, it would doubtless be as fruitful as it

(a) " Sur le tiers (*Article*), ils ont produit le Lieu de *Ptolomée*, lequel ledit *Servet* dit n'avoir fait, & non obstant qu'il n'y a point de mal, & qu'il n'entend point du temps de *Moyse*, mais du temps de ceulx, qui ont escrit de notre siecle. Et lesdits disent que d'autant qu'il a compris generalement tous *Ecrivains* dudit pais, qu'il a calomnié contre *Moyse*."

* *Expositio Errorum Michaelis Serveti, &c. among his Theological Tracts*, Pag. 836. *Genevæ* 1576.

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was in the Time of the *Israelites*. And therefore Calvin went upon a wrong Supposition, when he told *Servetus* in a peremptory manner, that God had cursed the Holy Land, and made it barren for the Sins of the *Jews*. Mr. Maundrell, late Fellow of *Exeter-College* at *Oxford*, who travell'd in that Country, does not ascribe its Barrenness to a Divine Punishment, but to want of Culture. The Passage being very curious, I hope, Sir, you will not be displeased to find it here at length.

"All along this Day's Travel from *Kane Leban* to *Beer*, (says Mr. Maundrell *,) and also as far as we could see round, the Country discover'd a quite different Face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the view in most Places, but naked Rocks, Mountains and Precipices. At sight of which Pilgrims are apt to be much astonish'd and baulk'd in their Expectations, finding that Country in such an inhospitable Condition, concerning whose Pleasantness and Plenty they had before formed in their Minds such High Ideas from the Description given of it in the Word of God: Informing much that it almost startles their Faith, when they reflect, how it could be possible for a Land like this to supply Food for so prodigious a Number of Inhabitants, as are said to have been poll'd in the Twelve Tribes at one time; the Sum given in by *Joab*, 2 *Sam.* 24. amounting to no less than Thirteen Hundred Thousand Fighting Men, besides Women and Children. But it is certain, that any Man who is not a little biass'd to Infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, Arguments enough to support his Faith against such Scruples.

"For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these Rocks and Hills must have been anciently cover'd with Earth, and cultivated and made to contribute to the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, no less than if the Country had been all plain, nay perhaps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven Surface affords a larger Space of Ground for Cultivation, than this Country would amount to, if it were all reduc'd to a perfect Level.

"For the Husbanding of these Mountains, their manner was to gather up the Stones, and place them in several Lines, along the Sides of the Hills, in form of a Wall. By such Borders, they supported the Mould from tumbling, or being washed down, and formed many Beds of excellent Soil, rising gradually one above another, from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountains.

"Of this Form of Culture you see evident Footsteps wherever you go in all the Mountains of *Palestine*. Thus the very Rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no Spot of Ground in this whole Land, that was not formerly improved to the Production of something or other, ministering to the Sustenance of Human Life. For, than the plain Countries nothing can be more fruitful, whether for the Production of Corn or Cattle, and consequently of Milk. The Hills, tho' improper for all Cattle, except Goats, yet being disposed into such Beds as are afore describ'd, served very well to bear Corn, Melons, Goards, Cucumbers, and such like Garden-Stuff, which makes the principal Food of these Countries for several Months in the Year. The most Rocky Parts of all, which could not well be adjust'd in that manner for the Production of Corn, might yet serve for the Plantation of Vines and Olive-Trees, which delight to extract the one its Fatness, the other its sprightly Juice, chiefly out of such dry and stony Places. And the great Plain joining to the Dead Sea, which, by reason of its Saltness, might be thought unserviceable both for Cattel, Corn, Olives, and Vines, had yet its proper Usefulness for the Nourishment of Bees, and for the Fabrick of Honey: Of which *Josephus* gives us his Testimony, de Bell. Jud.

* A Journey from *Alippo* to *Jerusalem* at *Easter*, A. D. 1697. *Oxford*, 1707. Pag. 64. & seq. The Second Edition. This Curious Relation has been translated into French, and printed in *Holland*.

"Lib. V. Cap. 4. And I have Reason to believe it; because when I was there, I perceived in many Places a Smell of Honey and Wax, as strong as if one had been in an Apiary. Why then might not this Country very well maintain the vast Number of its Inhabitants, being in every Part so productive of either Milk, Corn, Wine, Oyl, or Honey? which are the principal Food of these Western Nations: The Constitution of their Bodies, and the Nature of their Clime, inclining them to a more abstemious Diet than we use in *England*, and other Colder Regions". But to return to *Servetus*.

In the next Place, they produced * against him his Notes upon the VIIth and VIIIth Chapters of *Isaiah*, particularly those which he had made upon the LIId Chapter of that Prophet, which he understood in a literal Sense of *Cyrus*, who (said he) died for the Sins of the *Jews*, adding that the mystical Sense concerned *Jesus Christ*, who is principally meant in that Chapter. Calvin (a) does very much exclaim against that Explication, and calls it an impious thing. *Grotius*, who applied that Chapter to *Jeremiah*, in a literal Sense, was no less mistaken than *Servetus*: I cannot tell whether any Body did ever call the Explication of that Learned Man an impious Thing. *Servetus* maintained, that *Nicolas de Lyra* explained the same Chapter as he did; but the Book was sent for, and they shew'd him that it was false. Whereupon Calvin ** says that *Servetus* boldly quoted several Authors whom he had never read, and that he could not read Greek. I cannot tell whether the first Accusation be well ground-ed; but I am sure the second is not true.

The next Book produced against the Prisoner was his *Christianismi Restitutio*, especially from the 22d Leaf (feuille) to the 35th and 36th, where he calls the Trinity a Dream of *St. Augustin*, and uses several offensive and extravagant Expressions, calling those who believe the Trinity *Tritheists*. *Servetus* answered in his Vindication, (b) "That he did not call those, who believed the Trinity, *Tritheists*, for he himself believed it; but only those, who misrepresented it, admitting a real Distinction on in the Divine Essence; That they divided God, and destroyed the Unity of the Divine Nature, and those he call'd *Trinitarians* and *Atheists*; and that there is a Personal, and not a Real Distinction in the true Trinity". He added, that his Doctrine was the same with that of the Disciples of the Apostles and the Primitive Fathers, such as *St. Ignatius*, *St. Polycarp*, *St. Clement*, *St. Irenaeus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*, whom he had quoted in his Book.

He further said, that by the word *Person* or *Hypostasis* he understood a visible or apparent Subsistence.

On the same Day his Accusers produced several other Passages out of his Printed and Manuscript Books, to prove the Heresies charged upon him. 'Tis observable, that

* "Et quant aux Annotations de la Bible, ils ont produit le 7. & 8. Chap. d'Esaie, & le 53. d'Esaie, auquel dernier passage ils disent ledit Servet avoir attribué à *Cyrus* ce qui est attribué à *Jesus Christ* quant à l'effacement de nos pechés & portement de nos iniquités. A quoy ledit Servet respond que le principal doit estre entendu de *J. Christ*; mais quant à l'histoire & à la lettre, il le faut prendre de *Cyrus*, & que les anciens Docteurs ont mis deux sens en l'Ancien Testament, savoir sens Littéral & sens Mystique, &c.

(a) Ubi supra.

** Ibid.

(b) "Sur ce il Servet respond qu'il n'appelle *Tritheistes* ceux qui croient la Trinité, car il la croit luy mesme; mais il appelle ceux là qui la deguisent autrement qu'elle n'est, c'est assavoir ceux qui mettent distinction réelle en l'Essence Divine; que ceux là divisent Dieu, & ostent l'unité de l'Essence Divine, & il appelle ceux là *Trinitaires* & *Atheistes*: Et qu'en la vraye Trinité, il y a distinction personnelle, & non point reale".

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every time the Prisoner was brought to the Bar, they seldom failed to insist upon his abusing Calvin. In order to make out this important Accusation, they produced, besides the *Latin* Letter inserted in my last, a Copy of Calvin's Institutions full of Marginal Notes, written with Servetus's own Hand.

Servetus declared on the same Day, that his Printer had sent several Copies of his *Christianismi Restitutio* to France.

On the 21st of August, la Fontaine and Colladon exhibited a Letter of Balchazar Arnollet, who printed Servetus's Book, and had been imprisoned with him at Vienna. That Letter was written from that City July 14. to one James Berlet at Chatillon. The Printer acquainted his Friend Berlet, that he had been deceived by Gueroult, the Corrector of Servetus's Book, who concealed from him the Errors contained in it, tho' he often ask'd him, whether there was any. He desired Berlet to destroy those Books privately.

Afterwards Calvin came in attended by all the Ministers of Geneva. He undertook to prove against Servetus, that the Ancient Fathers, alledged by him, far from saying any thing that might countenance his Opinions, taught a very different Doctrine. That Reformer and the Prisoner had a long Dispute about the true Sense of the Words *Person* and *Hypostasis*. That Dispute being ended, Calvin and his Attendants went away; and the Judges ordered that Servetus should have such Books, as he wanted, bought at his own Charges, if they were to be found at Geneva, or at Lyons. Calvin had brought some with him, out of which Servetus kept *Tertullian*, *St. Irenaeus*, *St. Ignatius's* Epistles, and another.

Lastly, it was ordered that the Prisoner should have Paper and Ink to write a Petition, according to his desire.

Accordingly the next Day (August 22.) Servetus presented the following Petition to his Judges. I shall make no Alteration in his Orthography.

A mes tres honorés Seigneurs Messieurs les Syndics & Conseil de Geneve.

SUPPLIE humblement Michel Servetus accusé, met-
tant en fait, que c'est une nouvelle invention,
ignorée des Apostres & Disciples & de l'Eglise an-
cienne, de faire partie criminelle pour la doctrine de l'Es-
criture, ou pour questions procedantes d'icelle. Sela
se montre premierement aux Actes des Apostres, cha-
pitre 18. & 19. ou tiels accusateurs sont deboutés, &
renvoyés aux Eglises, quant ni a aultre crime que que-
stions de la Religion. Pareillement du temps de l'Empe-
reur Constantin le grand, où il y avoyt grandes heresies
des Arriens, & accusations criminelles, tant du costé
de Athanasius, que du costé de Arrius, le dict Empe-
reur par son conseil, & conseil de toutes les Eglises, ar-
resta que suyvnt la ancienne doctrine, telles accusations
nariont poynt de lieu, voire quand on seroyt un here-
tique, comme estoit Arrius. Mais que toutes leurs
questions seriont decidées par les Eglises, & que estila
que seroyt convenu, ou condamné par iceles, si ne se
voloyt reduire par repentance, seroyt banni. La qui-
ele punition a esté de tout temps observée en l'ancienne
eglise contra les heretiques, comme se preuve par mille
autres histoires, & autorites des docteurs. Pour quoy,
Messieurs, suyvnt la doctrine des apostres & disci-
ples, que ne permirent oncques tieles accusations, &
suivant la doctrine de l'ancienne eglise, en la quiele tie-
les accusations ne estiont poynt admises, requiert le
dict Suppliant estre mis dehors de la accusation crimi-
nelle.

Secondament, Messieurs, vous supplie considerer,
que na poynt offensé en vostre terre, ni ailleurs, na
poynt esté sedicieux, ni perturbateur. Car les questions
que luy tracte, sont difficiles, & seulement dirigées à
gens scavans. Et que de tout le temps que a esté en A-
lamagne, na jamais parlé de ces questions, que a Oeco-
lampadius, Bucer & Capito. Aussi en France nen ha
jamais parlé a home. En oultre que les Anabaptistes se-
dicieux contre les magistrats, & que voliont faire les
choses communes, il les a tousjours reprové & re-
preu. Donc il conclut, que pour avoir sans sedition

" aucune mises en avant certaines questions des anciens
docteurs del Eglise, que pour sela ne doyt aucunement
estre detenu en accusation criminelle.

" Tiercement, Messieurs, pour ce quil est estranger,
& ne scait les costumes de ce pays, ni comme il fault
parler, & proceder en jugement, vous supplie humble-
ment luy doner un procureur, lequiel parle pour luy.
Ce faisant farés bien, & nostre Seigneur prosperera vo-
stre republique. Faict en vostre cite de Geneve le 22.
daost. 1553.

Michel Servetus de Ville neuve
en sa cause propre.

That is,

To my most Honoured Lords the Syndics and Council
of Geneva.

Michael Servetus humbly sheweth, That the Prosecu-
tion of a Man for the Doctrine of the Scri-
pture, or for any Question arising from it, is a new In-
vention, unknown to the Apostles and their Disciples,
and to the Ancient Church. As it appears, First,
from the Acts of the Apostles, Chap. 18. & 19. where
such Accusers are cast off, and refer'd to the Churches,
when there is no Crime in the Case, and 'tis only a
Matter relating to Religion. Likewise in the Time
of the Emperor Constantine, when there were great He-
resies, and Criminal Accusations, both on the Part of
Athanasius and Arius, the said Emperor with the Advice
of his Council, and of all the Churches, decreed, That
according to the Ancient Doctrine, such Accusations
should not be admitted, even tho' a Man were an He-
retick, as Arius was; that all their Disputes should be
determin'd by the Churches; and that a Man convicted,
or condemned by them, should be banish'd, unless he
repented. That Punishment was at all times inflict-
ed upon Hereticks in the Ancient Church, as may be
prov'd by a Thousand other Passages and Authorities.
Wherefore, my Lords, the said Petitioner begs, that
he may be no longer prosecuted as a Criminal, agree-
ably to the Doctrine of the Apostles and their Disciples,
and of the Ancient Church, who never admitted any
such Accusation.

Secondly, my Lords, the Petitioner beseeches you
to consider, that he has committed no Fault in your
City, nor any where else; that he has not been a Sedi-
tious Man, nor a Disturber of the Publick Peace; (for
the Matters treated by him are difficult, and such as
can only be understood by Learned Men); that all the
time he was in Germany, he never discoursed of those
Things but with Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito; and
that he never imparted his Opinions to any body in
France. Besides, he always disapprov'd, and continues
to disapprove the Anabaptists, who oppose the Magi-
strates, and would have all things to be common.
Wherefore he concludes, That he ought not to be pro-
secuted as a Criminal, for setting forth some Questions
debated by the Ancient Doctors of the Church, since
he has done it without acting like a Seditious Man.

Thirdly, my Lords, because he is a Foreigner,
wholly unacquainted with the Customs of this Country,
and knows not how to speak and proceed in his Trial,
he humbly beseeches you to give him an Attorney, who
may speak for him. It will be well done; and the Lord
will prosper your Republick. From your City of Gene-
va, August 22. 1553.

Michael Servetus of Villanueva,
pleading his own Cause.

Servetus presented some other Petitions, of which I
shall give you an Account hereafter. I am,

S I R,

Your &c.

A. E. P.

H A L L.

A New Life of Henry the Fowler, King of the Saxons, has been lately publish'd by M. Gundlingius Professor of Eloquence.

D. Nic. Hieron. Gundlingii, Consiliarii Boruss. & Prof. Eloquentiæ Halensis, de Henrico Aucupe, Franciæ Orientalis Saxonumque Rege, Liber singularis, in quo Reipubl. facies ex genuinis documentis, diplomatibus, tabulis, chartis scriptoribusque æqualibus in luce collocatur. Halæ Magd. 1711. in 4to.

The Author designs to publish the Lives of the other Saxon Kings and Emperors.

L E I P S I C K.

M. Deylingius has put out the second Part of his *Observationes Sacræ*.

D. Salomonis Deylingii Observationum Sacrarum Pars secunda, cum figuris æneis & Indicibus necessariis. Lipsiæ. 1711. in 4to.

This Book contains fifty Observations upon so many Passages of the Old and New Testament. In the first the Author undertakes to clear Moses from the Accusation of *Pantheism*. In the IXth he shews that the Land of *Canaan* was a very fruitful Country, as we read in the Scripture; and alledges the last Verse of the IVth Chapter of *Malachi*; and some other Reasons to account for its present Barrenness. M. Deylingius does frequently confute Sir John Marsham, Mr. le Clerc, Father Hardouin, and several other Authors.

[A further Account of this Book will be inserted in another Sheet.]

T U B I N G E N.

M. Hiller has publish'd a Book, containing many Grammatical Observations upon the Hebrew Tongue.

Matthai Hilleri SS. Theol. Græcæque & Orient. Linguar. Prof. Publ. Institutiones Linguae Sanchæ. Tubingæ, 1711. in Octavo.

Being informed that the Readers would be better pleased to have these Memoirs Printed in Quarto, I shall publish them in that Size for the Time to come.

P A R I S.

Father Mabillon publish'd Four Volumes in Folio of the Annals of the *Benedictins*, and left behind him a Vth Volume, that reaches to the Year 1157. That Volume was to be printed by Father Ruinart, who designed to go on with the Annals of his Order, if Death had not prevented it. Father Massuet, Author of the New Edition of St. Irenæus, has undertaken to publish the Vth Volume of those Annals, and to carry on that Work to this present Time.

A M S T E R D A M.

M. Gronovius has lately publish'd a Book, wherein he criticizes Dr. Kuster's Edition of *Suidas*. The Doctor is preparing an Answer, that will be inserted in the XXIVth Volume of Mr. Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Choïse*.

The Second Edition of Mr. Le Clerc's *Ars Critica* is in great Forwardness: It will come out with some considerable Additions.

A New Edition of *Diodorus Siculus* is to be printed here, with several Learned Observations of Mr. Wasse.

R O M E.

Father de Graveson, a French Benedictin, Doctor of the Faculty of Paris, and Professor of Divinity at the *Minerva*, is printing a Chronological Book relating to the Life of Jesus Christ. *De annis & mysteriis Christi*. The Author was very much esteemed at Paris, and has acquired a great Reputation in this City.

